

ANNUAL REPORT FOR FY 1988

Date: June 28, 1988

The following is a report of the activities of our organization for the period of Oct. 1987 thru July 1, 1988; the projected activity for the last quarter of FY 88 and proposed activity for FY 89.

1. In FY88 the organization continued to publish the monthly journal Suchasnist, a 128 page Ukrainian language journal which has a circulation of 2,100 copies (average print run). Of this total 1,200 copies are sold in the West, 200 copies are sent gratis to East Europe, 10 copies are subscription copies to the USSR, 150 copies are sent gratis to the USSR, mainly to Ukraine; 150 sent gratis to distributors to give to Soviet Ukrainian tourists who visit the West. The journal publishes articles dealing with contemporary Ukrainian issues, literature written by emigre authors, reprints materials from samizdat from Ukraine, important articles on glasnost from the Soviet Ukrainian press, commentary on the situation in Ukraine. In 1988 a number of authors from Ukraine have written articles specifically for the journal which we publish along with a disclaimer stating that the article was being printed without the consent or knowledge of the author. For example, in the issue dealing with the Millenium of Christianity in Kievan Rus', a prominent Ukrainian dissident 331 wrote an article for specifically for the journal. Earlier, author 556 also wrote an article specifically for the publication.

In addition to sending copies of the journal to Eastern Europe and the Ukraine, two issues of the publication were reprinted in Poland by Polish opposition groups in FY88. Each had a print run of 2,000 copies and were distributed to Ukrainians living in Poland. (see below POLISH ACTIVITIES).

In FY 1988 a number of materials published in the journal were reprinted in the Soviet Ukrainian press. For example, the Soviet Ukrainian journal Vitchyzna No. 5, 1988 reprinted reproductions of paintings of a Ukrainian artist liquidated by Stalin from our journal issue # 12, 1987 (without giving credit to us). The newspaper Literaturna Ukraina recently reprinted (In May 1988) poetry by Vasyl Symonenko which we had published in 1965 in our journal. (For greater details see below BOOK PROGRAM)

Ukrainian samizdat publications have also reprinted materials from our journal. The Ukrainian Herald # 9-10 has reprinted poetry first published by us, crediting our publication. In another article in the Herald # 7, our publication is mentioned in a positive light by M. HORYN, a prominent dissident.

Numerous articles from our publication have been translated and reprinted by individual Polish independent publications inside Poland in FY 88. (in the journals ZONA, BAZA, MIEZDZMORZE, KOS).

IMPACT

The impact of our journal can be judged by different means; conversations with Soviet Ukrainian visitors to the West; attacks in the official press on our articles; reprints inside.

In 1988 we were able to meet and discuss our projects with a

wide spectrum of people from Ukraine. Those members of the "official" and semi-official intelligentsia who visited the West in 1988 told us that copies of the journal are available inside Ukraine and they have had access to some issues.

For example, Source 566 from Kiev told our representative that copies of the journal should be sent to the Writers Union and that he would see if they can get through. He himself reads the journal in the Central Academic Library in Kiev where it is kept in the spezfund. Source 566 took back with him about 10 different issues of the journal.

Another source, 990, presently at Harvard, gave us a list of addresses where the journal should be sent to in Ukraine, libraries where he thinks it might get through. While in Harvard, 990 has been reading the journal and back issues of it as well.

Source 390 from Kiev has been reading the journal for a number of years, but has not had access to all issues. He too reads it at the Central Academic Library.

Members of the Virsky Dance Ensemble took copies of the journal and books published by us to read.

According to Source 671 from Poland, Ukrainians visiting Poland from the USSR ask him to give them copies of the journal in Poland. Many take copies back with them, others read it on the spot. In 1987-88 this has become a widespread practise.

According to a Ukrainian/Canadian academic who recently returned from China, Soviet Ukrainian scholars in China have had access to the journal in the libraries of PRC institutions where they are. He gave an example of a visiting Soviet Ukrainian who has asked for our publications and was given them by the Chinese.

According to Source 671, the Polish consul in Kiev, who is close to a student of Ukrainian descent from Poland, takes from her on a regular basis copies of our journal and books and brings them into Ukraine where he distributes them to Ukrainian friends.

In a conversation with the head of the Ukraina Society from Kiev, VB, he mentioned that our journal comes to their Society, that he reads it and then offered to submit some of his poetry to the journal. (which he thus far has not done). He was asked if his Society would be able to deliver copies of the journal to certain official writers in Kiev who might be interested in getting it. VB agreed to this.

BOOK PROGRAM

In 1988 we continued our book publishing program and put out the following titles:

1. Ukrainsky Visnyk (The Ukrainian Herald) # 7/1987. A samizdat journal edited in Ukraine and passed on to the West for reprinting. We published 2 runs of this, a total of 3,000 copies.
2. Memoirs by Sambros. An autobiography of a Ukrainian intellectual and his memoirs of the Stalinist purges for the 1930's. Originally it was written in Ukraine and given to us for publication after the death of the author.
3. Ivan Svitlychniy (Poems from the labor camp). This is the second revised edition of poetry written by Svitlychniy in the

labor camps in the 1970's. Svitlychniy presently lives in Kiev.

4. A Three Volume collection of the writings of Viktor Petrov - Domontovych. Literary criticism, novels and short stories by a controversial Ukrainian author who in the 1950's returned to the USSR and his works have not appeared in Ukraine thus far.

VIDEO PROJECT

In 1988 we began a pilot video project the goal of which was to distribute into Ukraine video cassettes of films and other material which would be useful in accomplishing our mission. At the same time, we distributed into Ukraine video cameras and equipment with the goal of having people inside use this equipment to record events as they happen and to have these tapes brought out for the purpose of reproducing them here and redistributing them back inside.

The film Harvest of Despair about the 1932-33 famine in Ukraine was taken into Poland and we arranged and paid for its dubbing into Polish inside Poland. A copy of it was brought out and reproduced here and then distributed back inside.

This same film was then dubbed by us into Ukrainian on the SECAM mode for distribution into Ukraine.

Presently we are compiling video tapes of the celebrations of the millennium in different Western cities which we intend to edit onto one tape for distribution. We have also purchased a SECAM video camera in order to film interviews with Ukrainians in the West, Ukrainian festivals, rallies, demonstrations and distribute them back inside.

In FY88 we have passed back into Ukraine three video cameras: One to a Source in the Institute of Literature at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev in order for them to tape interviews with writers who survived the Stalinist purges. The second to a prominent film director from Kiev in order for him to film things which are not being officially filmed and pass them back to us. The third to the editors of the Ukrainian Herald in order for them to film demonstrations and conduct interviews with dissidents.

We have also passed on to Poland a video camera to people connected to the official Ukrainian organization in Warsaw in order for them to film and pass on to Ukraine tapes of Ukrainian life in Poland.

IMPACT OF VIDEO PROJECT

According to a Source from Poland, there have been private showings of the Harvest of Despair in different Polish cities to audiences of students numbering from 200-300 people with a very positive reception. The video tape in Polish is circulating to different cities and is being passed on, in Polish, into Ukraine.

The Source in the Academy of Sciences has requested more blank cassettes in order to continue taping interviews. He has received over 40 blank 2 hour tapes. An arrangement has been made with him to get copies of the finished interviews for safekeeping.

The film director in Kiev called a Source in the West and told him that he had filmed the celebrations of the millenium in Kiev and wants to pass the tape back to us.

UKRAINIAN PEACE COMMITTEE

The Ukrainian Peace Committee (UPC) began its activities in 1986 at the Copenhagen Peace Conference. It continued it's activities into FY88 by publishing a newspaper Ukrainian Peace Committee News and establishing links to different West European peace groups.

The role and function of the UPC has been to influence West European peace groups to pay more attention to the USSR and to show how the USSR uses the Peace movement in order to further the goals of Soviet foreign policy, at the same time showing that the USSR is a militaristic society. The UPC has also been involved in ecological issues in the USSR and East Europe, questions of military service in the Warsaw Pact nations (building a CO movement), the war in Afghanistan and the national movements in the non-Russian republics of the USSR.

In FY 88 the UPC published 4 issues of its newspaper, each issue had a print run of approx. 2,500 copies. The paper was distributed to different European and Third World Peace groups and into East Europe and the USSR.

Members of the UPC took part in the unofficial seminar in Budapest on Peace issues in Nov. 1987 where they took part in the discussion and distributed the Peace News.

The UPC has been in contact with the Polish group Freedom and Peace and has provided them materials from its paper for reprinting in Polish.

Members of the UPC took part in a Swedish Peace Conference (organized by a pro-Soviet Swedish Peace Group) where they distributed their literature, getting coverage in the Swedish press.

The UPC has come into contact with a Finnish Peace group which is interested in distributing literature into the USSR and has already established contacts to unofficial groups in Moscow. The Finns have agreed to take UPC (and also our Ukrainian language publications) with them into Ukraine.

The UPC is in contact with a branch of the Moscow Trust Group in Lviv in Ukraine. A number of letters from the Lviv group have been received by the UPC.

Members of the UPC are planning to attend a Peace conference in Sweden organized by the END in FY 88, as well as to attend a Human Rights Conference in Cracow, Poland in August 1988.

Using the facilities of the Osteuropa Verlag in Berlin, the UPC is distributing its paper into East Berlin.

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

↓ FORUM

A Russian language journal published by us twice a year which deals primarily with nationality problems in the USSR and is meant to serve as a journal which can be read by all

nationalities. It has a print run of 1,000 copies per issue and is distributed widely into East Europe and the USSR.

/ SAMOSTIYNYK

A Ukrainian language publication printed inside Poland and not attributable to us. Each issue has a print run of 2,000 copies and is meant for distribution from Poland into Ukraine. Thus far 10 issues have come out. It contains reprints of samizdat from Ukraine and original articles written for it.

✓ DIALOGY

A Polish language journal devoted to Ukrainian-Polish affairs, meant to promote understanding between Poles and Ukrainians. Not attributable to us. Printed in Poland and written in the West.

/ Suchasnist (in the Polish language)

A continuation of what was meant to be a one shot publication. In 1986 we published a polish language edition of Suchasnist whose goal it was to promote Polish-Ukrainian understanding. The issue was so popular (there were three reprintings of it in Poland and 4 editions in the West) that we decided to publish another issue in 1988. It is due out by Oct. 88.

✓ SOVIET NATIONALITY SURVEY

Published in English in London, this monthly is designed to inform East Europeans, and people in the Third World, as well as European readers of current Soviet nationality problems. The journal has been appearing for 5 years. It has a paid circulation of 150 and a print run of 350.

/ SOVIET UKRAINIAN AFFAIRS

A quarterly journal dealing with the current situation in Ukraine. Published in London in English, it contains translations from the Soviet Ukrainian press, brief notes on dissident activities. It is geared for a broad audience which is interested in Ukrainian affairs. It has 150 subscribers and a print run of 500 copies.

OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Throughout 1988 our activities have focused primarily on getting literature into Ukraine. With the rapid rise of national awareness, the re-appearance of samizdat, the formation of various informal groups in Ukraine, the holding of mass demonstrations in Lviv and smaller demonstrations in Kiev and Kharkiv - all this has led to a great demand for literature in Ukraine.

To this end we have been expanding our contacts to the Ukrainian communities in the West where the greatest number of travellers to Ukraine can be found. Unfortunately, due to legal restrictions, we cannot task US citizens of Ukrainian descent, to take 3-4 books with them to Ukraine on our behalf and leave them with somebody there. (This prevents us from using the largest manpower pool available in the West). At the same time, due to

legal restrictions, we cannot task Ukrainian/Canadians to do the same, nor can we task British subjects of Ukrainian descent, or Australian subjects of Ukrainian descent. We are therefore left with a minuscule number of Ukrainian emigres with whom we can work with - and of course with non-Ukrainians who can only carry books in and not talk with people inside. Thereby, we are faced in our operational activity, the bread and butter of our work, with the enemy - the KGB which wants to restrict our access to Soviet Ukrainian society. At the same time, the regulations of the sponsoring agency create a situation which makes it difficult for us to accomplish our mission.

Despite these limitations, we have been able to supply people in Ukraine with literature which they ask for and need, as well as with video tapes, tape cassettes and equipment needed by them to reproduce and distribute these items further. *copies made here*

In 1988 we saw that the base for Ukrainian operations in Poland has become a vital one. Poland is seen by Soviet Ukrainians as an accessible country where there is a large, nationally aware Ukrainian community which has access to Ukrainian literature from the West. Ukrainians living in Poland are also aware of their position vis a vis Ukraine and with the onset of glasnost, have begun playing a major role in the distribution network.

In 1988 we began reprinting certain issues of Suchasnist (the Ukrainian language edition) inside Poland. This was done without major problems and we intend to proceed with this in the future. From interviews with Ukrainians from Poland, more and more Soviet Ukrainians are visiting Poland, many of them are taking books back to Ukraine with them and it is much easier for Poles to travel to the USSR today. According to recent reports, Poles can now take in computers and VCR's into the USSR without restrictions, thus easing the pressures on us who in the past have had to rely upon people from the West taking these in at a risk that they would be confiscated.

Utilizing the Ukrainian Peace Committee contacts, we have begun developing a base in Finland for literature/Video distribution. We have also begun using some Ukrainians in Rome for these ends.

In 1988 we noticed that Ukrainians coming to the West from the USSR are more apt to take back with them books and video's. This channel has grown substantially in the past year.

We have noticed in 1988 that the mails are opening up somewhat, but still most of our books are not being allowed into the country.

PLANS FOR FY 1989

If the rapid growth of national feelings which took place in 1988 in Ukraine continues into 1989, we will be faced with an

increased demand in Ukraine for books, video cassettes, video equipment (cameras, VCR's) printing equipment, xerox machines, telefax machines and for money to build the movement inside.

We think it is important to increase our video program, even if funds do not permit it, at the cost of certain publications. In 1988 we realized how powerful this medium is and how popular it is among the broader masses. In 1989 we hope to increase this program.

At the same time, we will have to continue concentrating our attention on building the Polish base of operations along two lines: 1. Further encouraging Polish-Ukrainian cooperation; 2. Using Poland as a channel into Ukraine.

In 1989 we want to conduct a number of joint actions with other non-Russian nationalities (Balts, Armenians, Byelorussians) in order to stress the importance of cooperation.

As always, the key to this is a reasonable budget for operations. Now, that the nationality question has shown itself to be THE problem for glasnost and perestroyka, not to speak of the future of the USSR itself as a state, we think it important to increase our activity multifold while the opportunity presents itself. This would mean a basic restructuring of the project, a redefinition of certain legal restrictions on using US persons unwittingly, a doubling of the budget (we feel that the budget for FY 1989 should be \$ 2 million).